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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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882 Gwimpi, exemplifies Kwoma custom in this respect. One day
584 he told me that Nowel, Gwimpi's brother, had insulted him,
602 and added: "If that Nowel comes around here again, I am
578 going to beat him up. You won't be angry with me if I give him a good licking, will you?" The threatened fight never occurred. Although Gwiyap spoke sneeringly of Nowel several times thereafter when the latter was not present, he was especially friendly to him whenever they were together. A month or so later he began addressing Nowel by the brother-in-law term. The latter would protest at this and deny the relationship. On one occasion Nowel's *paternal uncle* was present, overheard Gwiyap addressing Nowel in this way, and asked him the reason for it. Gwiyap replied: "I am going to marry your niece. Have you anything to say about it? If you don't like it, I will fight you." (Gwiyap was much smaller than the man whom he was challenging.) The uncle laughed indulgently at the threat and jokingly replied, "You are talking pretty big for a child." That evening Gwiyap asked my help in case a fight should result, but nothing came of the matter.

Fear of retaliation prevents a boy from being seriously aggressive toward his future relatives-in-law. They stand as a unit against him, whereas his own relatives will not support him in any unwarranted aggression. If the relatives of the girl do not exceed their rights, a boy is not considered justified in going farther than in the case reported above. Possibly another reason why a boy is inhibited from direct expression of his hostility toward his future in-laws is that the punishment he has received in the past for being aggressive toward his own father and *brothers* has generated anxiety which is generalized to this new situation.[40]

882 An adolescent boy may be frustrated by the girls whom
836 he flirts with or courts. His sexual wishes or his desire for
602 marriage may be blocked because the girl is not interested in
578 him. He must submit to this frustration, for to express his aggression would evoke retaliation from the girl's relatives.

[40] Mar, directly after Waramus insulted him, had a nightmare in which his father tried to take his soul.

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885 795 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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A person is seldom, if ever, convicted of sorcery. I am reasonably certain that there were many fewer occasions on which sorcery was actually practiced than there were cases of sickness and death attributed to this cause. I was unable to discover anyone who would admit to having practiced sorcery, and the Kwoma themselves were unable to convict any sorcerer during my stay, despite their constant efforts to do so. This evidence should not, of course, be taken as proof that men never practice sorcery, but as indicating the probability that they rarely do so. 754

Mar's nervous breakdown illustrates how sorcery works from the point of view of the person sorcerized and how it may be used as an explanation for neurotic anxiety. One evening shortly after Mar began his courtship of Aya we heard him exchanging shouts with someone down the mountainside. Later he came to my house and told me that he had been arguing with Waramus. The latter had discovered that Mar wanted to marry Aya and had shouted: "You stay away from my daughter; you are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry a lazy person like you, and one who is her relative, too?" When Mar had told me this, he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater?" I reassured him. He then bit his underlip, raised his hand, and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, "That damned Waramus! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." I asked, "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" and he replied, "It is too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." 159 754

Mar did not carry out his threat, nor did he make any move to see Aya for the next few days. A week later he went with several of his *brothers* and *sisters* and his betrothed to work on their garden. Three days later Fit came running back from the garden and told us that Mar was dying. He said that Mar had had a nightmare the previous night and that his father's ghost had appeared and tried to take his soul away. We took some medicine and went back to the garden with Fit and Wof, who had also been told of Mar's sickness. When we arrived at Mar's bush house, he was moan- [787]

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159 754 [129] ing on his bark slab bed. He seemed unable to talk and could only groan inarticulately. We took his temperature and found that it was normal. When we asked him where the pain was, he shook his head, refusing to answer. Wof then diagnosed the sickness as the result of sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies, he dies, that's all." This elicited a groan from Mar. We told him that we had some very strong medicine which would counteract sorcery, at which he lifted his head and looked at us with a doglike expression and then took the Eno's salts which we gave him. We suggested that he go home, for the bush house was damp and lonely, but he groaned and shook his head at this suggestion, indicating that he could not make it. Wof then gathered some nettle leaves, formed them into a cone, into which he muttered a prayer, and then rubbed them over Mar's chest and belly. This made Mar gasp and come out of his lethargy enough to mumble that he believed Waramus was sorcerizing him for courting Aya. We finally raised him to his feet. Leaning heavily on us, he swayed and staggered but was able to walk. As the trip progressed, he seemed to become stronger and for the last part of the journey walked unaided, but when we arrived at his home he fell groaning on his bed, where he stayed for two days without speaking. Wof meanwhile approached Waramus, who denied that he had sorcerized Mar, but said that he still did not want him to court his daughter.

Mar did not leave his house for over a week, gradually recovering his voice and his strength. He believed that Waramus had sorcerized him but had stopped after being accused by Wof, and that this had saved his life. Waramus denied Wof's accusation, and as far as I was able to determine his denial was truthful. The case would have progressed in much the same way, however, whether he had done so or not. Thus it is evident that sorcery functions as an explanation for sickness and that accusations are made against persons who are feared, and finally that the actual performance of black magic is not pertinent.[33]

[787] [33] The fact that Mar had a nightmare in which his father's ghost attempted to take his soul suggests that his sickness may have been due to

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When a man does resort to sorcery, he is reputed to use the following technique. First he either steals or gets someone to steal sorcery material[34] from the person whom he wishes to injure. Then he either gives it to a noted sorcerer[35] to whom he pays a fee or, if he is confident in his own powers, proceeds himself. The sorcerer puts the sorcery material in a special, narrow-necked clay pot and places it on the fire. When the pot and its contents are very hot, he pours a small quantity of cold water into it. If the sorcery material completely disappears in the burst of steam which ensues, the victim will die; if some fragments remain when the pot cools, he will merely become very sick. The operator may not drink water during the process or the sorcery will not be effective. Another type of sorcery consists of inserting in the victim's food a white powder purported to be poisonous. Whether this powder is actually harmful I was unable to discover.

All deaths are believed to result from sorcery. Death repeatedly proves to the Kwoma the efficacy of this type of magic and increases everyone's fear of and anger against sorcerers. This is particularly true in the case of close relatives of the deceased. When a person dies, one of his relatives tolls the house tamberan gong in a slow, measured beat to announce the event to the tribe. I was on a hunting expedition with Sof, a young man who had recently returned from working on a white plantation, when the gongs of Sombundura house tamberan began to toll. He stopped in his tracks, and his jaws began to work. He said nothing for a minute and then in a very emotional voice spoke of the evils of sorcery. "This is a bad place. All anyone can think of is sorcery. That is all the old men think of. We young men who have worked for the whites are going to rebel against it. We are going to round up all the old men who practice sorcery and

sexual anxiety which was rooted in the Oedipus situation and which was evoked at this time by his courtship with Aya and the threats of Waramus.

[34] The Kwoma believe that food leavings, blood, sperm, and the feces of infants are effective materials for sorcery.

[35] No one ever publicly admits that he is a sorcerer, for to do so might mean death or ostracism. Many persons are believed to be powerful sorcerers and privately admit it, if it is to their advantage to do so.

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explanation for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger expressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur, the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory measures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of social control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the possessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing. In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed person, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus, exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to extinction.

A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from beliefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at which accusations are made and denied and evidence is presented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who have no better theory of disease and no more effective methods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the supposed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Mawk, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Mawk) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the [937] Tengwishamps asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Hamb had tried [435] to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinuwa answered him from down below in Wef's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Gwiyap and Hay who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Pas in maus shit muting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Weyakole's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by War and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put out in the aguyin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out 787 that all the wives--Gwiyap sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinuwa and Gwiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. Hay, Mar, Gwiyap, Mas, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinuwa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinuwa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Hamb appeared and

787 turned his flashlight on her. They told Hamb to turn off the light, and then they all (Mar , Chinuwa and Ugangaya) wrenched the stick away from her, dragging her around the floor to do it. After they had gotten it away, she remained lying on the floor and was lifted onto a sago bark bed where she was left. She did not move and was no longer held. Then Marok squatted beside her and began talking to her very quietly and sympathetically asking her what was the matter. She said she was asleep and possessed by a ghost. Marok asked her who the ghost was but got no answer. Then he began listing the possibilities. "Was it so and so, or such and such, or the other?" He got no response. For a long time he got nonse ; the mosquitoes were eating me up, so I left.

This morning they told me (Mar and Owiyap) that in the evening they had all been at Wof's (Ugangai, Awambaka, Ewiya, Chinuwa, Wof and his wife). [276] Awambaka had been chewing betel, and all of a sudden the ghost had taken possession of her. She had shut her eyes, grabbed a stick and began playing about with it. Chinuwa and Ugangai had caught her and held her. Wof had told them to carry her to Mar's house. This they did. I had arrived soon after.

The ghost who had taken possession of her turned out to have been Marok's older brother (deceased). His message was that he was cross at Marok and Mar for cutting his sago. (Mar said that they would not cut it any more.) The general tone of Marok's pumping her was her answering yes [123] or no to his suggestions. The ghost also said he was cross at Wof and May, and when I was there, my house was mentioned.

534 February 22, 1937. Mar was down by the house tamberan bilasing Yat's gong.
323 Ker was working bembank and cutting grass by the house tabberan, and Marok was making large pots for his new house. Yat visited in the afternoon.

578 Yevalas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumwe Sumwe. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Owiyap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 Owiyap and Mas just voiced their disgust at the Tambon because they
787 defecated close to the house. Mar dreamed last night that "masta Bobbie" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Owiyap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Mas and woke up calling to him.

533 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the
202 Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a
825 big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum
789 kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura. Soon afterward, this was repeated at Sombundura, and then at Afokolis. Then Kaya called out to Owiyap, who ran down to Rumbima, and Yat, Way, and Owiyap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasamanj, a sugilawas (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasamanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this marsalai and that Wasamanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasamanj is a sugilawas of the Wanyi people.

115 123 [755] After the treatment he sat down again and resumed his moaning. Later Mar sent Pit into the bush for more and larger nettles. When Pit returned with them, Mar noticed him and put his hands up to us to be lifted up. After another rub down, Tip and I put his arms over our shoulders, one standing on either side of him, and started off. As the journey progressed we found he had to be supported less and less. We went slowly, stopping quite frequently to rest. The trip took two hours, and we were exhausted at the end. When we reached home, Mar slumped down on his sago bark bed and resumed his former state. We left him and went to visit again in the evening after Owiyap had come up saying he had had a relapse and wanted us to see him. When we arrived he was in about the same state as when we had first seen him at the bush house. We gave him three cascara pills and left. December 6,1936.

Yesterday Mar was better, but not much. He was lying on his bed and moaning. He had not had a bowel movement; his temperature was still normal. We gave him a dose of 4 teaspoons of epsom and rubbed his face, chest and back with ambrosia, to which he reacted in much the same manner as to the nettles. In the afternoon he was somewhat better. Owiyap reported that his bowels had moved and that he had eaten.

115 787 This morning Owiyap came in and told us that Mar died during the night but then came alive again. The story he told was that during the night Mar had been visited by the ghost of his older brother who had told him to come to the land of the dead. Mar at this point called out to his mother, "Mother, come! My brother is here and I am going to die." His mother has a large ulcer on her foot and could not come down from the next house where

*115 she sleeps, but began to wail. Wof awoke at this and came with a torch
[787] to awaken us. He shouted at us near our house but we slept through it all. When I went to see Mar in the afternoon he was sitting up and seemed quite cheerful. He still talked very little and used no pidgin. While I was there he crawled out of the house and urinated. This he did on his hand and feet, belly up. I asked him why he did not stand and Owiyap quickly answered that he had a bad knee.

December 7, 1936.

The report today is that Mar is much better. Ear came around, and from him we learned that Mar's older brother was a "big man" before he died. At a ceremony his position was as high as that of Mar.

December 9, 1936.

*115 Yesterday Owiyap came to get me to treat Mar's leg. I went down to
123 find Mar asleep and had some trouble in waking him. He had a nasty surface
752 sore on his ankle. I swabbed it out with a solution of percuric potassium iodide and put a bandage with unguentine on it. He howled a good deal during the process but said nothing. Afterwards I fixed a little sore of Owiyap's and although he stood it much better, he squirmed a bit, and Mar laughed at this a little. I stayed for a while and he became more cheerful still saying practically nothing however.

*115 Today during the Mundik[1] episode Mar came hobbling up the hill leaning heavily on a walking stick to see what was going on. He went back after about

1. Mundik was a young man who killed his wife and, seeking refuge at Wasuk, was beaten by them and nearly killed for attending a ceremony without having the proper credentials (i.e., haloids of manhood). They consider him to be insane.

January 27, 1937.

#115 Mar came this morning to say he was on his way and stayed all day. This evening he said that everything is prepared for an early departure the next morning. (Yesterday he seemd to have been waiting for Numb to return).

January 28, 1937.

[123] This morning he came again and said he was leaving now. I told him to go, but he waited for a while and then asked me if I would join him, or at least come later. I could not go, but he waited and finally said that [439] he did not believe he would go after all. He said he would scrape some sago and trade it for fish with the Yambon and prepare food for a feast to pay for others to come and help him. He suggested that perhaps Numb would shoot a'gouria' for him for this feast, but added that perhaps Numb would be cross with him for asking. Finally about ten o'clock he felt that [461] he could delay no longer and left looking very sullen, accompanied by [241] Gwiyap's sister. There was quite a bit of pressure toward his going; both Gwiyap and Moy said that the amount of weeds in his garden was disgraceful.

February 3, 1937.

Mar returned this morning about 10:00, greeted me warmly and said that his work was almost completed; he left Gwiyap, Awa, and Kwiya there to finish it. He stated that he came today because of a nightmare that I was beating [787] him with a stick. He had awakened screaming with terror and started back [123] here as soon as it was light in order to find out if I was cross with him for something.

This afternoon he invited me to visit Mar with him. When we arrived, he appeared a trifle nervous but otherwise quite natural. He greeted the

*115 This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking
584 in a loud voice. He said that Mes has agreed to act as a go-between to ask
[759] Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be careful in his friendship with Mes (Mar has been joking with Mes alot lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yawa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she has not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor
787 of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables.
602 His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last
753 night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chimawa, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Gwiyap, Mey and Fit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

*115 787 602 753 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough. He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left them to get it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 [754] When Kar, Afok , Fokotay, Dawangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerized and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 156 [648] The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said, "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked [123] me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

April 15, 1937.

*115 584 [123] Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mowimbwi, Gwanta and Fambe to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish. Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again Mar if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 582 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

October 28, 1936.

*115 124 [123] Gwiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and Hey bothhbegan helping around the house, and since Hamb is gone, we officially made them houseboys and gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Gwiyap took up a pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a gamba (ghost). This he did--a male one first. Thein we asked him to drew a female one, [831] which he also did. He mentioned that the male figure had two penises. Then he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 593 Today we told Gwiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Gwiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Gwiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Gwiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Gwiyap that a big wind was coming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were

#115 787 all and he said 'yes.' He got a bit irritated at me after I had asked him several time but finally he told me of a dream which he had had several nights before and which he had already told to Tip. In this dream he had seen his father with a great many yams, coconuts, bananas, etc. His father was carrying them back to the cemetery to eat. He also had a large cup in which to cook the food. Owiyap was looking on, and the smell of death was very strong, "all the same big fella pek pek" (like a big pile of feces). His father began eating his food and with it the bones of dead men. Then Owiyap remembered another fragment which was about large dogs with hands and feet. They were climbing up coconut trees and throwing down the fruit. Then he saw a lot of dead men--people he did not know, who had died long ago. They were big men just like "you two fella masta", and were going in a sort of procession up to their dwelling place on the top of a mountain. I asked him if there were any women in the dream, but he said no. The people live in a great tree with a hole in the bottom of it.

November 10, 1936.

[123] Last night Owiyap had a dream in which he and Tip and I were walking over to Sasarumun. (Tip had actually walked over that way yesterday afternoon). When we arrived, Owiyap warned us that the Sombindura were coming for us with spears to kill us. Tip, however, had his .22. That was all he could remember. As it occurred yesterday, he became irritated when I asked him if there were any more.

November 14, 1936.

#115 123 The day before yesterday, I was fooling around in front of the house with some of the kids. I was pretending to fight with Owiyap. Once when my back was turned, he hit me with the flat of his hand. I turned around quickly and started to chase him--laughing and shouting the while. We scrambled down the mountainside, onto a path which led down the mountain

*115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
123 the mud for footing. Gwiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Gwiyap appeared. He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right. He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment about the affair.

587 This morning Wof married Gwiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
*115 it the night before, and Gwiyap must have know his intentions. When Gwiyap
• 780 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757 night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[304 natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrized at initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, but that he was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberanka" (one of the ghosts of dead Mongwem).

* 115 In talking over Owiyap with Tip, I was reminded of a couple of things about him that I have not yet recorded. In the first place, he has showed more interest in looking at pictures in the magazines and books that we have than the others --particularly the last number of the Pacific Island Monthly, which he has gone through half a dozen times, asking us what the pictures are--machines, ships, houses, etc., and then having been told, repeating them to himself, much like a child with a picture book.

Another thing is that several days ago, Tip gave him an old tooth brush. Since then, almost every morning he has asked us for it and has spent a long time scrubbing at his teeth and then looking at them in the mirror and showing them to us.

[191] Still another fact is the remarkable amount of pidgin he knows, for a child and for one who has obtained it 'second-hand' from returned "savvy talks". He is always eager to learn new words, and is very quick to learn to make a bed, to cook, or to do other things about the house.

November 15, 1936.

* 115 Tip got a dream from him this moring while I was asleep . Owiyap
● 787 was with Her going through the bush when they met a cinuk (snake). It was a very tall thing made of leather and emitted a noise like a toy bull-roarer, but very much louder. It was a gambe (ghost) . They chased it, killed it and buried it. Then they were afraid about what they had done. As they were leaving the spot, another gambe approached and asked them why they had killed the cinuk. They lied, saying "We didn't kill him", and hurried away.

*115 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall.
123 Neither Gwiyap nor May likes this. They said that ghosts would come.
775 I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Gwiyap to come, but Gwiyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Hamb. I asked Gwiyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally wormed it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a"monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

*115 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongwum again to sign on boys. Gwiyap
648 is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is
464 looking forward eagerly to the chance. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods Kis brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again.

December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancee, Yawa. Wof exorcised it. According to Gwiyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chinuwa. Gwiyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident.

According to Gwiyap
/Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chinuwa and Way's wife know a little about it. These are the only persons in Rumbium who can be possessed by spirits.

January 26, 1937.

*115 593 I asked Owiyap if his father was a hard man. "Man! hard felo lik lik!" (That's putting it mildly!") Did his father ever beat him? "Yes." Once he had asked his father for pig's meat. His father had replied that he didn't have any. Owiyap had cried, and his father had beaten him. Owiyap later grabbed a spear to shoot his father, but Mar's older brother had [604] prevented him. Another time his mother had been cross with him and he had run away and stayed with his men (mother's brother) for several days until his mother had finally come and taken him back. He often went and stayed with Mar, who was his chief playmate even though he was older.

January 28, 1937.

*115 787 Owiyap had a dream last night that he and Mar and I were going down the hill to the market place on the way to work for the white man, followed by a group of women. When we reached the foot of the hill and got into a canoe to go out to a pinnace which was waiting, the women wanted to go too and started to get into the canoe. We said that they must stop, whereupon they wailed and broke their lime gourds. We got on the pinnace and went down the river as far as Angoram, where we got onto the Montoro, which Owiyap thought was "big tu mas (big too much). I asked him who the women were who had followed, and he said, "O, altogeder mari" (oh, all the women). Then he mentioned particularly his sisters and mother and Mar's sisters.

February 2, 1937.

*115 584 883 Owiyap has met Way's daughter at night and today met Sowinambi's daughter on the way to Sombundum. She called him aside and said she had heard he was leaving with me but that she would wait for his return and would marry no one else. He said all right. He told me that plenty of girls would like to marry him--"plenti felo mari i laik getup long mi " When we discussed her waiting for him and the fact that he didn't intend to

February 13, 1937.

126 Yesterday Tip left. Owiyap and I put the ceremonial figures in boxes.

+115 Owiyap had a dream last night. Some master whom he did not know was
• 787 living here and had a lot of boxes which he and all the other Hongwem carried down to the pinnace. The boxes were very large and heavy. When they reached the market place, the master found that one box was missing; he was very cross, and sent them back to look for it. Owiyap finally found that another Hongwem had taken it to his house. He reported this to the "kiap" at Ambunti who told him that if he returned the box it would be all right.

602 Kwiya came by carrying firewood and Owiyap yelled something bawdy
+115 several times. She answered, evidently in the same vein. I asked Owiyap if she understood him. He said that she did, but that it was all right
+115 between 'brother' and 'sister'. Then he said that he thought it would be
836 good to go away with me, for so many girls liked him and had intercourse
883 with him that he would get in trouble, and then he recounted his conquests again: Kwiya, Awa, Way's older daughter, Mes' sister, and Sowinambi's daughter. I asked him if he hadn't had intercourse with Way's other daughter. His face dropped and he said that he hadn't -- that she didn't like him. Then he brightened and said that she was no good anyway--"bone nothing." (To me the two seem nearly of an age and look very much alike.) Then he said that Mes' sister was the best of all--she has a very large vagina. He cautioned me not to tell Mar about having intercourse with his sister (Awa), for "he would fight me." "No, he would not fight me, but I would have shame."

He came in this afternoon about four, sweating, and boasted that he had just had intercourse twice with Awa in their house. May came in, and he kept still. Later he said that he didn't want May to know, for he might tell Mar.

March 4, 1937.

*115 787 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

* 115 572 765 Owiyap inherithd Yatafauf as a naramboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naramboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kawas came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

* 115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sumge kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Gwiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 171 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Gwiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

* 115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Ewiya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both ave (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her amwe or newelaka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 15, 1937.

* 115 291 Last night Gwiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

* 115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Gwiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

* 115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Yumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Gwiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

*115 Way, having stuck the spear through the body of dead woman, carried her down
● 787 to the water and threw her away. Then Gwiyap, Way, and his whole family ran away into the bush and came to a yam house. (Gwiyap's mother's name was Kowabwas, which means 'no yams'.) They sat down in this and made a fire. Way's wife inquired whose garden it was and said there must be a man about, so they left and went to their own garden in the bush. Way's two daughters got some tiny little bush bananas (gamba yofu). The mother carried a little pot-- "just like the one on your table" -- and they made soup. Then they walked through grassland. Way said they were going to a place where there were men who had taken heads. Nerik, their son, began to cry and was very afraid, but they kept on until they came to a marsalai dwelling place where they became afraid and turned back. Next they came to the edge of a 'round water', where they saw a canoe which Gwiyap wanted to take. Way said that it belonged to someone else who would fight them if they took it, but Gwiyap said, "Never mind", and took Gwanta across and then returned to get the rest. They then came to
[123] Malu. The Malus asked what they were doing their and were told they were hiding from the "kiop" because they had killed the master at Waskuk. ("This dream is about you.") The Malus said it would be all right--that they would hide them. Gwanta and Gwiyap returned to their bush house, leaving Way and the others behind. They stayed there and Gwanta killed a gourie pigeon with her hands and made soup of it which they ate. Then Gwiyap went to defecate and came all the way to my house when he woke up.

*115 After reporting the dream, he said that he did not like the idea of the
648 head hunting raid-- that he thought he would go to America with me. He
123 thought this place would be 'shot up' by the police again.
829